2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

342 angular roof of thatched plantain leaves. These lodges vary from twenty to forty feet in length, averaging thirty feet, and from the ground to the apex of the roof-ridge they are eight to ten feet high. In general appearance they closely resemble the houses of the Florida Seminole, but usually lack the sleeping platforms of the latter (pl. 1).

Some houses are provided with floors about four feet from the ground, which generally are made of splints of palm or other wood, lashed with lianas to a framework of beams. Such floors afford an uncertain and yielding footing to a heavy person. Generally the floor covers only a portion of the ground area, an open space being left at one end to accommodate the fireplace, which is situated on the hard-beaten earth. The raised floor is reached by a short, log ladder, the steps of which are closely spaced notches. [352] [Hammocks of native make swing from post to post across the lodge above this floor.] Sometimes the floor is encompassed by a loose wall of sticks, set up vertically and bound together, the intervening space be- [23]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
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tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen, while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling.

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle. Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano. One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

231 Tame parrots, parrakeets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

● 231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *oskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *pawel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [23]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

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forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the
● [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the
[283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[81] For use as
412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made
415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double
[531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also
[534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is
531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*.
314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being
177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[81] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de-

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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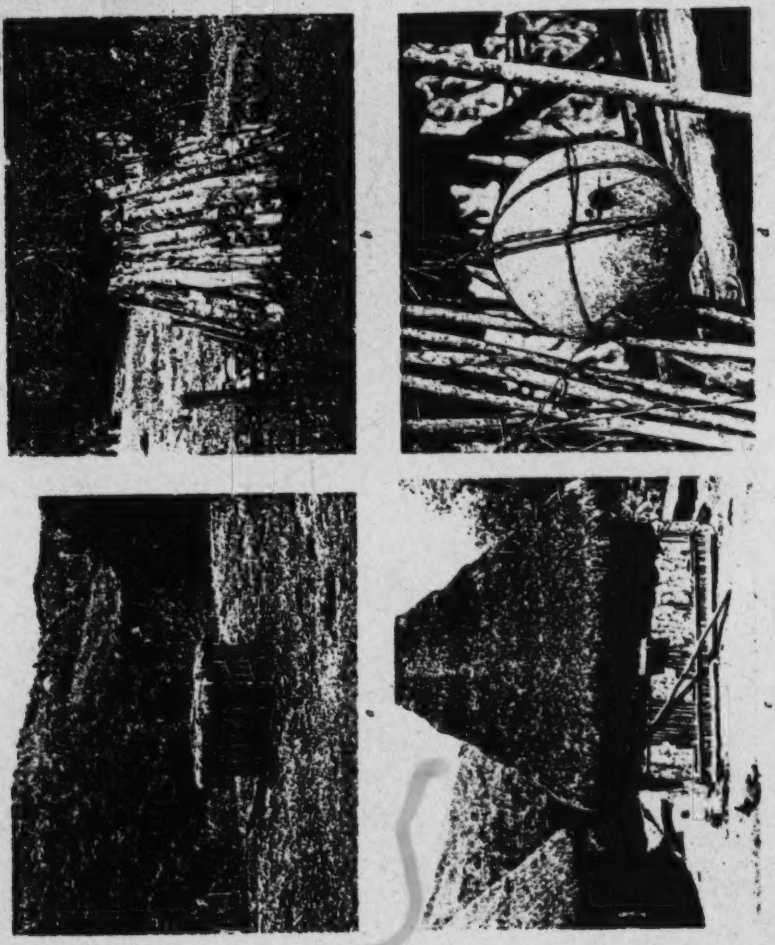


a, b, Two types of chicken coops. c, Vertical pole construction with spots of Agiverpur and hanging "nest" for setting hen. d, Domestication of bees (hive made from a gourd).

[p. 54]

[P. 11(A)] Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribrí nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [121] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *bužiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 361 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qual/ysr]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qual/ysr]

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] [439] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] [273] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, [231] and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

[P. 13(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason
[177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

●231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold
[454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the
[417] household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but
[417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ½ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

½ [See category 116, END Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

● 231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] [262] [954] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding [492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong 794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, 231 the patron of the community, roam the 422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal [411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens, 231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions [262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.) 137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the 252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
● [231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1/4] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1/4] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
822 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1/4 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]]

[P. 18(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, ●231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bavas*,[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [TT] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals.[1] Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more often constructed of clay on a wooden table. Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of wooden rods are used for sleeping along with hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen in every household although their number is limited according to the family purse. The low stool is always present but a chair and a table are found now and then. Hanging shelves serve for storing food and all manner of odds and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabited by the Talamancas, it is only used as blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.

The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[291] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skɔbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *sɔkibuL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and [415] rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Fur- [412] nishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [415] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

438 [437] money saved for dealings with non-Indians. A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are [231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side, 464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant [177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150 439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[text continues top of P. 41(B)-Guedst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the nonmaterial culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears [554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how- 756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé- 177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of [743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult [184] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

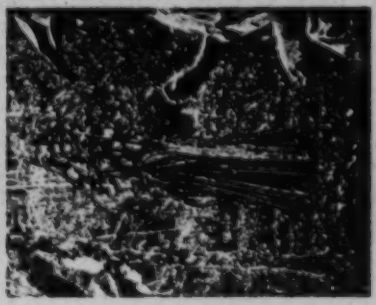
[text continues bottom of P. 41(B)-Guedst]

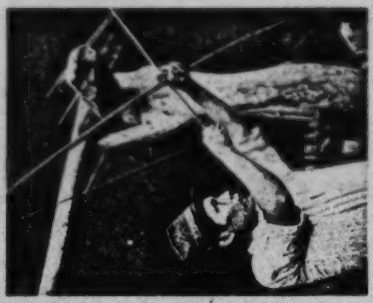
[495] [241] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[242] Usually 100 pounds.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cribri
Cabecar

142
231
226
291
411
417





a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Basket for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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342
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a

b

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415
231

c

d

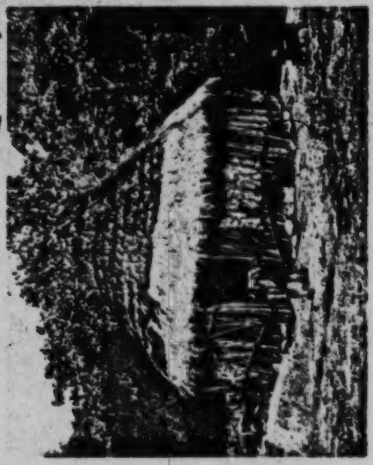
a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

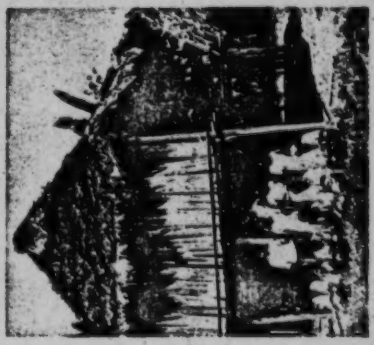
[END PLATE 5]

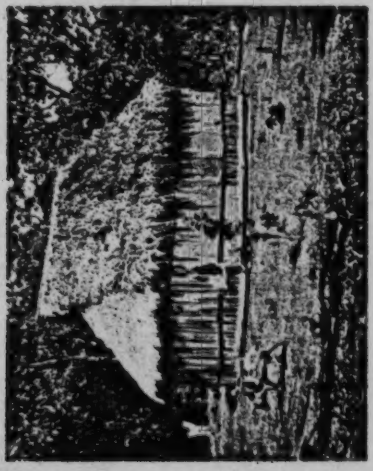
6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

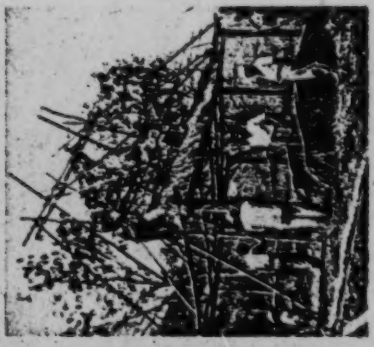
SA19 Talamanca SA19
cabecar
Bribri

342
357
291
231









a, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. b, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. c, Constructing a Bribrí rectangular house, Cabagra. d, Bribrí raised rectangular house.

[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

c

a, Bribri boy. b, Bribri girl. c, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. d, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]